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AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES  
AT ATHENS.  
DISCOVERIES IN THE ATTIC DEME OF IKARIA,  
1888.

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III. THE CHOREGIA IN ATHENS AND AT IKARIA.\*

It is hoped that the following inscriptions discovered by the American School at Ikaria, and now first published, will throw new light on the choregia of Attic rural demes, a subject upon which we have very little accurate information. In order to call to mind the various questions which must be proposed in examining the choregia in a country deme, it will be useful to make a summary survey of the various stages through which the choregic management passed in Athens.<sup>1</sup>

It is usually stated, that for all the great festivals, such as the Greater Dionysia, the Thargelia, and the Panathenaia, each tribe, by the medium of its *ἐπιμεληταί*, appointed one of its wealthier members to act as its representative choregos. The duties of a choregos were to supply and suitably equip a chorus at his own expense and to provide for its instruction by appointing a *χοροδιδάσκαλος*, whose title was commonly shortened to *διδάσκαλος*, who should have charge of the training of the chorus. This trainer was originally the poet himself, and for this reason Aristophanes (*Acharnians*, 628), referring to himself, uses the word *διδάσκαλος* in precisely this sense. The time of the festival was the occasion for judging the comparative merits of the choruses and for awarding a prize to the choregos who presented the best-trained chorus. The prize was not the same for all festivals, but, for the Great Dionysia and the Thargelia, consisted of a bronze tripod which the victor was expected to dedicate in a conspicuous position, frequently building for it an elaborate structure such as the monument of Lysikrates.

\* Professor Tarbell, the Annual Director of the School, has been kind enough to look over this article, and I am indebted to him for several suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> See article *Choregia* in the standard Dictionaries of Antiquities; BOECKH, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*,<sup>(3)</sup> p. 539 ff.; MÜLLER, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenaltertümer*, p. 330 ff.; and, especially for the distinction between the various classes of inscriptions, KOEHLER, *Mittheilungen d. d. archäol. Institutes*, 1878; REISCH, *De musicis Graecorum certaminibus*; BRINCK, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*.

In the course of this paper, it is proposed to submit some of the foregoing statements to a more exact examination, in the light of the evidence now at hand.

The circumstances of the victory gained by the chorus are habitually recorded in an inscription, and the change which takes place, at different periods, in the phraseology of these inscriptions is very important as indicating corresponding changes in the management of the choregia itself. Koehler, who has made a careful study of choregic inscriptions, held that, while in the fifth century the tribe was accounted victor,<sup>2</sup> in the fourth century the choregos had become more eager for personal credit and was himself named as victor for the tribe.<sup>3</sup> But such a distinction cannot be maintained; since, in the fourth century, the tribe is accounted victor in two-thirds of the inscriptions in which both tribe and choregos are mentioned.

The inscription given in Note 3 is one of several which show that in the fourth century it was not uncommon to allow two tribes to combine and appoint the same man as choregos. Dittenberger, in a note to this inscription, observes that, whenever separate tribes furnish choruses, the tribe is named as victor, but, when two tribes combine, it is the choregos who is accounted victor; and he interprets this as an indication that the attribution of the choregos as victor arose from the dislike of the Greeks to name several victors in the same contest.

Reisch, noting the fact that, in nearly every case in which two tribes unite in one choregia, the chorus is of boys, deduces a general rule, and, in the single inscription in which the nature of the chorus is not stated (*De Mus.*, p. 31, III), claims that *παίδων* is to be understood. These generalizations of Dittenberger and Reisch, however, rest on what may be mere coincidences. In fact, the inscription on the Thrasyllus monument,<sup>4</sup> in which a choregos for a single tribe is named as victor, is against Dittenberger's theory, though he seeks to evade the force of it, because this inscription has in general the phraseology of a private dedication. The same holds true of the inscription on the Nikias monument.<sup>5</sup> Another inscription— . . . . ο Περιθοίδης χορηγῶν ἐνίκα | . . . . ἰδι

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *C. I. A.*, I, 336: Οἰνεῖς | ἐνίκα | παῖδων | Ἐδρυμένε[ς] | Μελετεῶνος | ἐχορέγε | Νικόστρατος | ἐδίδασκε |.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 411: Αἰσιος Μνησιβοῦλο Σφήττιος | χορηγῶν ἐνίκα Ἀκαμαντίδι | Πανδιονίδι παίδων, Εὐκλῆς | ἐδίδασκε, Εὐδαμίσκος ἠύλε, | Χίων ἤρχεν.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. G.*, 224 = DITT., 423.

<sup>5</sup> KOEHLER, *Mith.*, 1885, p. 231.

ἀνδρῶν, Φιλόφρων Φιλοκράτος [ἐδίδασκεν, | Οἰ]νιάδης Προνόμο ἠΰλε, Διετρέφης ἤρχεν<sup>6</sup>—affords absolute proof that either one or the other of the generalizations is unsound. If at the beginning of the second line the name of only one tribe is supplied, we have an instance of a choregos for a single tribe being named as victor, and Dittenberger's theory falls to the ground. If, on the other hand, the names of two tribes are supplied, we have a case where two tribes unite to supply a chorus of men, not of boys, and Reisch's generalization no longer holds good.

Brinck maintains that, whenever there is a union of two tribes, it is for the festival of the Thargelia, and quotes, in support of this, the statement of Ulpian: ἐν τοῖς Θαργηλίοις δυοῖν φυλαῖν εἰς μόνος καθίστατο χορηγός, τοῖς δὲ μεγάλοις Διονυσίοις εἰς χορηγός ἐκάστης φυλῆς.<sup>7</sup> This theory is thought by some to be disproved by the fact that one of the inscriptions making mention of two tribes was found on the southern slope of the Akropolis; but it is not impossible to hold that it was moved thither from elsewhere. Indeed, three bases, each with a choregic inscription referring to two tribes, have actually been found on the site of the Pythion, where Thargelian dedications were made.

A general classification of choregic inscriptions is attempted by Reisch, founded on the mention or non-mention of the flute-player, and, in case of such a mention, on the position of his name with reference to that of the *didaskalos*. Reisch states that in the fifth century the *didaskalos* alone appears; the reason for this being that at that period the poet and musician were one and the same person, that is, that the poet, like Pindar, composed his own music. In the fourth century, the flute-player is always mentioned—in the first half of the century after the *didaskalos*, in the second half, before the *didaskalos*, as the art of music gradually developed, and emancipated itself from its subjection to poetry.

It was Koehler who first clearly pointed out the radical change in the management of the choregia which was brought about in the last part of the fourth century. The system under which each tribe appointed a choregos was abolished, and the people collectively became the nominal choregos, but appointed, probably from the wealthier citizens, an officer called *agonothetes*, who superintended the preparation of all the

<sup>6</sup> REISCH, p. 32, v; RANGABÉ, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 972.

<sup>7</sup> ULPIAN *ad Demosthenem*, *Lept.*, 28.

choruses.<sup>8</sup> Even in this period a tribe was mentioned as victor, but it is not clear what was now the exact relation of the separate tribes to the choregia.

There remain a few choregic inscriptions differing from those which have been mentioned both in their phraseology and in their purpose. Perhaps the best example of these is the following: *Τιμο]σθένης Μειξωνίδο|Μειξωνίδης Τιμοσθένος|Κλεόστρατος Τιμοσθένος|[Χορηγούντες νικήσαντες ανέθεσα[ν] | [τ]ῶι Διονύσῳι τᾶγαλμα καὶ τὸμ [βωμόν].*<sup>9</sup> Here we observe that the word *ἀνέθεσαν* is used, whereas in the inscriptions referred to above the fact of the dedication is never expressly stated, the principal verb being always a form of *νικῶ* or *χορηγῶ*. The inscription also tells us that the objects dedicated were a statue and an altar, not a tripod. There are a few other inscriptions in which *ἀνέθηκε* is used, one belonging to the epoch before Eukleides, cut in the channels of a column. Owing to these facts, a classification has been adopted by scholars (Kirchhoff, Koehler, Dittenberger, Reisch) into *official* and *private* monuments. That is, a victor would, in his official capacity as a representative of his tribe, dedicate the tripod which he had obtained as a prize, with an inscription in the usual set phraseology; but as a private person he might also dedicate a thank-offering for his victory, the nature of which would be entirely a matter of his personal choice, and the inscription upon which would not follow a fixed phraseology, but would be a statement of dedication (*ἀνέθηκε*), with the optional mention of some of the circumstances connected with the choregia. The characteristics upon which this classification is founded are, then, an inscription of fixed phraseology in which *ἀνέθηκε* is not used, cut upon a monument intended to support a tripod; as opposed to an inscription in which *ἀνέθηκε* is expressed, cut upon a monument intended for the support of something other than a tripod; though it is not inconceivable that a choregos might, in his private capacity, choose to dedicate a tripod, which, however, could not be the one given him as the official prize. For this classification to be an absolute one, it must be capable of including in one class or the other every choregic inscription. An inscription with *ἀνέθηκε* upon a monument holding a tripod and plainly intended as a public and official dedication, or an inscription without *ἀνέθηκε* upon a monument intended for something other than a tripod, would be an anomaly.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. DITT., 418: δ δῆμος ἐχορηγεῖ, Σωσίστρατος ἦρχε, |[ἀγω]νοθέτης Θεοφάνης Διοσκουρίδου Εὐάννου, | Ἐρεχθεὶς ἀνδρῶν ἐνίκαι, | Σωκράτης Ῥόδιος ἠέλει, Ἐράτων Ἀρκὰς ἐδίδασκεν.

<sup>9</sup> KOEHLER, *Mith.*, 1878, p. 229; DITT., 422.

Of the stones upon which inscriptions occur that do not have ἀνέθηκε, some have cuttings which show that they surely held tripods; some were found in such positions as make it extremely probable that they held tripods; some are upon architraves which may very well have belonged to large choregic monuments; but, as to many, especially those found at the beginning of this century, it is impossible to find any evidence upon which to base a conclusion as to what they may have supported. The important fact is, however, that there is no monument bearing an inscription of this class, of which there is any evidence that it held anything else than a tripod. On the other hand, we do find an anomaly in the inscriptions on the architraves of two choregic monuments, those of Thrasyllus and Nikias (*cf.* Notes 4 and 5). Both these inscriptions have the phraseology which should belong to monuments of the private class, but it is plain from their form and position that they are in fact monuments publicly and officially dedicated, as much as the famous one of Lysikrates. In publishing the Thrasyllus inscription, Dittenberger notes this fact, and accounts for it on the ground that at this date, just before the institution of the choregia of the people and the *agonothesia*, the distinction between the two classes of monuments was less strictly observed than before. Koehler,<sup>10</sup> in treating of the Nikias monument, which was erected in the same year as that of Thrasyllus (one being for a chorus of boys, the other for a chorus of men), claims that the pretentious character of the monuments and the unusual form of the inscriptions are alike to be accounted for by the unusual circumstances attending the celebration of the festival of this year (319 B. C.).

In the usual statement of the appointment of the choregos given on the first page, it will be observed that no account is taken of any difference in the management of the choregia dependent on variations in the form of chorus furnished. We know that there were purely lyric choruses of men and of boys, and dramatic choruses for tragedy and for comedy; but, as the mention of choregia in literature, especially in connection with *antidosis*, naturally gives the notion of a fixed and invariable institution, it is usual to group the various classes of choregoi under one general statement, considering that all were appointed in the same manner, received the same prizes, and were, in short, identical in every way, except that their duties in preparing the chorus would of course differ according to the particular nature of the chorus. This is

<sup>10</sup> *Mittheilungen*, 1885, p. 234.

the view taken in the various dictionaries of antiquities, and accepted by all the authorities which are referred to at the beginning of this paper, with the exception of the last two, who depart more or less from it. It is observed by Reisch, that none of the inscriptions having the usual phraseology of monuments of the official class contains any reference to a dramatic chorus. Out of twenty-six such inscriptions or fragments collected by him, nineteen distinctly mention the kind of chorus, and it is always lyric, of either men or boys; of the remaining seven, three are complete and do not state the nature of the chorus, and four are broken, so that, if the chorus was mentioned, it is no longer possible to know its nature. There are, however, a few choregic inscriptions plainly referring to a dramatic chorus, one being of the private class and referring to a comic chorus (*κωμφοδοῖς* being used), and two, published by Koehler,<sup>11</sup> which are important enough to be given in full.

Μνησίστρατος Μίσγωνος  
Διοπέιθης Διοδώρο ἐχορήγων  
Δικαιογένης ἐδίδασκεν.

Μνησίμαχος Μνησιστράτο  
Θεότιμος Διοτίμο ἐχορήγων  
Ἄριφρων ἐδίδασκε,  
Πολυχάρης Κώμωνος ἐ[δί]δασκεν.

The *Dikaiogenes* mentioned in the last line of the first is held to be identical with the tragic poet who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century. The *first* peculiarity to be observed in these two inscriptions is the fact that two persons are named together as choregoi. A passage in the Scholia to Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 406,<sup>12</sup> informs us that, in the archonship of Kallias (406 B. C.), it became customary for two persons to act together as choregoi for the tragic and comic choruses at the Dionysia. This passage is the authority for the statement, frequently made (as in Boeckh, *Staatsh.*,<sup>(3)</sup> I, p. 538), that synchoregia was one of the stages of the general system of choregia; but the words of Aristotle quoted by the Scholiast, which limit it to the dramatic chorus, are supported by the fact that it is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions relating to the lyric chorus, while in the two inscriptions just given, referring to the drama, it is found in use. However, the law under Kallias embodied only a permission for two choregoi to bear the expense of the chorus in common, not a command, as is proved by Lysias, *xxi.* 4, Demosthenes, *Meid.* 59 and 156 (*cf. C. I. A.*, II, 1275), where the choregos serves alone, though all three cases fall later than the

<sup>11</sup> *Hermes*, II, p. 23; *cf. REISCH*, p. 44.

<sup>12</sup> ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι σύνδυο ἔδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμφοδοῖς.

archonship of Kallias. In this respect, a precedent had already been established as early as 411–10 B. C., when two trierarchs are found serving together (Lysias, XXXII. 24); but instances occur later of the individual trierarchy (Boeckh, *Staatsh.*,<sup>(3)</sup> I, p. 638).

The *second* point to be observed in connection with the two inscriptions given above is the fact that there is no evidence that the stone upon which they are inscribed ever bore a tripod. On the other hand, there is, so far as I know, no positive evidence that it did not; and as this is an inscription with the official phraseology, if we feel compelled to believe that all choregoi received the same prize, we must believe also that this stone held a tripod. Now Plutarch (*Them.*, 5) states that Themistokles gained a victory as choregos for a *tragic* chorus, and set up a *πίναξ* of victory with the inscription, *Θεμιστοκλήης Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγηει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκε, Ἀδείμαντος ἤρχεν*. But *πίναξ* is an extraordinary word to use, if it was literally a tripod which Themistokles set up.<sup>13</sup> The inscription given in the text is probably a copy of a genuine inscription (the manuscripts, of course, retain no sign of the pre-Eukleidean alphabet), since an inscription on a choregic monument dedicated by a certain Aristeides and quoted by Plutarch (*Aristeid.* 1) has actually been found, and it agrees word for word with the text. We learn also, from Plutarch's remarks on this inscription, that it was customary even in his time to pay very careful attention to both the phraseology and the palaeography of an inscription, using these as criteria for dating them, just as is the practice now. Accepting it, then, as a genuine inscription, we observe that it presents the same phraseology as the two given above, except that here the archon's name is added for the purpose of dating it. As it belongs to the period before the archonship of Kallias, one choregos only is mentioned. Here, then, are three inscriptions set up by dramatic choregoi, as to two of which there is no evidence that they were on a monument supporting a tripod, while, as to the third, it seems certain that the object dedicated was not a tripod. Is there anything in literature to show that dramatic choregoi received tripods as prizes? Theophrastos characterizes a mean man as one who, when he had gained a victory with a tragic chorus, would dedicate a wooden taenia to Dionysos and put his name upon it.<sup>14</sup> This seems to imply that it was optional with a tragic

<sup>13</sup> [It may have been a relief representing a tripod, in marble or in bronze. Cf. *C. I. A.*, II, 766, 835, 680, 683 c; LOEWY, *Inscrijten gr. Bildhauer*, No. 533; ARISTOT., *Pol.*, viii. 6 (1341 a).—T. W. L.]

<sup>14</sup> [οἶος νικήσας τραγῳδοῖς ταινίαν ξυλίην ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διονύσῳ. *Character*. 22. This



choregos what kind of a thank-offering he should make. But those choregoi who received a tripod as a prize were certainly expected to dedicate this, though there is no record that such dedication was required by an actual law. The speaker in Lysias, *Orat.* XXI. 4,<sup>15</sup> after a victory with a comic chorus, dedicates apparently the costumes and other properties used in the play, though the exact sense in which he uses *σκευῆς* may be doubtful. Among all the references to choregic tripods which I have been able to find (the twelve given by Brinck, p. 12, and three additional ones), there is not one as to which it can be affirmed that the chorus was dramatic. In nine instances the chorus is expressly described as lyric, and in the other six cases there is nothing to define the kind of chorus referred to. The force of these facts has been admitted by Bergk,<sup>16</sup> and is strongly put by Brinck in the dissertation referred to above. Lolling also, in speaking of the Street of the Tripods, says<sup>17</sup> that it is named from the small temple-like structures, *welche zum Andenken an die mit lyrischen Chören davongetragenen Siege errichtet worden.*

To return to the two inscriptions under discussion; we observe a *third* peculiarity, namely, that no mention is made of the tribe, the same thing holding true of the inscription quoted by Plutarch. Also in two fragments<sup>18</sup> belonging to a list of the choregic victors, both musical and dramatic, it is to be noted that in the case of lyric choruses the name of the choregos is preceded by the name of the tribe, while, in the case of tragic and comic choruses, there is no mention of the tribe. This seems very peculiar if the dramatic choregos was appointed by his tribe in the same manner as the others. But does the common statement, that the choregos was appointed by his tribe, necessarily imply that *every* choregos was so appointed? Let us briefly review the authorities for the tribal appointment of the choregos. Two of these<sup>19</sup> are mere casual statements, and give no evidence as to the kind of chorus referred to. The passage of Ulpian (quoted above, Note 7) seems, to be sure, to speak in a general way of the tribal appointment of the choregos.

is probably the victor's taenia (ARISTOPH., *Ran.*, 393), represented in relief or otherwise, and would form part of the *σκευῆ* mentioned by LYSIAS, XXI. 4.—A. C. M.]

<sup>15</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ Εὐκλείδου ἔρχοντος κωμφοδοῖς χορηγῶν Κηφισοδώρῳ ἐνίκων, καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τῆς σκευῆς ἀναθέσει ἑκκαίδεκα μνᾶς.

<sup>16</sup> *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, III, p. 60, note.

<sup>17</sup> *Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie*, in MÜLLER, *Handbuch d. klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, III, p. 326.

<sup>18</sup> *C. I. A.*, II, 971 a, 971 b = DITT., 405, 406.

<sup>19</sup> DEM., *Philipp.* I. 36; PLUT., *Quaest. conviv.* I. x. 1.

The speaker in Antiphon's speech on the chorus-boy<sup>20</sup> was choregos for two tribes at the Thargelia; but the chorus was lyric, not dramatic. The chief authority, however, is the oration of Demosthenes against Meidias, where he graphically describes his offer of himself as choregos to his own tribe, that it might not be for a third time without a representative; but he expressly states that he was choregos for a lyric as contrasted with a dramatic chorus.<sup>21</sup> Of the two arguments to this oration, written by Libanios, the first speaks of both lyric and dramatic choruses contesting at the Dionysia, and immediately upon this states that the tribes furnish the choruses and that the choregos is the one who pays the expenses in connection with the choregia. This, it must be acknowledged, would seem to indicate that the dramatic were appointed in the same manner as the lyric choregoi. But the second argument, which is longer and more specific, states that a choregos was appointed from each tribe, *πρὸς τὸ τρέφειν χοροὺς παίδων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν*, and adds, *ἐλάμβανε δὲ χρήματα εἰς τροφήν τῶν τοῦ χοροῦ. ἐπιστάσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἠγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ χορηγοὶ καὶ ἤριζον, ὕμνους εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον ἄδοντες, καὶ τῷ νικῶντι τρίπους τὸ ἄθλον ἦν, κτλ.* Now, we have seen that the choregia in the case of dramatic differs in some respects from the choregia in case of lyric choruses. The prize was not the same in both cases, and an important change in the dramatic choregia was introduced without affecting the system of the lyric choregia. It is true that the appointment of the choregoi is a more important feature, but, if we can rid our minds of the presumption that the choregia was a consistently invariable institution, the same for choregoi of both kinds, we see how little evidence there is to show that dramatic choregoi were appointed in any way by the tribe.

Having thus stated the most important features of the choregia for the city festivals, we may ask, What do we know of the choregia for the rural festivals? Especially for the Rural Dionysia, the most ancient of all the festivals of Dionysos, celebrated during the month of Poseideon (Dec.—Jan.) in the various country demes, and perhaps nowhere, except at Peiræus, with so much brilliancy as at Ikaria, so intimately connected with the myth of Dionysos, the birthplace of Thespis and the primitive home of both tragedy and comedy.

The meagre information which we possess on this point has been collected by Haussoullier.<sup>22</sup> Two decrees of the deme of Aixone, in praise

<sup>20</sup> *περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> § 156, *τραγωδοῖς κεχορηγηκέ ποθ' οὔτος, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσιν.*

<sup>22</sup> *La Vie Municipale en Attique*, p. 169.

of their two choregoi for having performed their duties, constitute the sum total of the epigraphic material which M. Haussoullier found at his disposal; and from this he concludes that two choregoi were regularly appointed each year, in exactly what manner he does not attempt to say, but probably from the few wealthy citizens, and without any special formalities. He then raises the question, whether there was a contest between the choregoi, and answers this in the negative,<sup>23</sup> stating, as his reasons for this belief, that the choregoi at the city festivals contested as representatives of their respective tribes, while in the country festivals all the choregoi were members of the same deme, and, being comparatively few in number, would be likely to make common cause in giving as brilliant a spectacle as possible. This view of Haussoullier simplifies matters considerably; but, if we should find that there actually was a contest, many questions would spring up. Was there any distinction between official and private dedications? Was there any distinction between monuments dedicated by dramatic choregoi and those dedicated by lyric choruses? Indeed, were there in the rural demes both dramatic and lyric choruses? What was the object dedicated?

In one of the inscriptions of Ikaria already published,<sup>24</sup> the deme praises its two choregoi, as is done in the two Aixonean decrees, and thus adds nothing to our information. The following three inscriptions are, however, the first of their kind, and constitute an important addition to our material.

#### INSCRIPTIONS FROM IKARIA.

##### No. 5.

Upon the edge of a marble slab (indicated in *Figure 2*), found in the wall of the church: height of letters, 0.012. They are roughly cut, and the Γ has an apex giving it somewhat the appearance of Π. This is seen also in the inscription of the Lysikrates monument.

Μ Ν Η Ξ Ι Α Ο Χ Ο Μ Ν Η Ξ Ι Φ Ι Λ Ο Υ Μ ν η σ ί λ ο χ ο [ς] Μ ν η σ ι φ ί λ ο υ  
 Τ Ρ Α Γ Ω Ι Δ Ο Ι Ξ Χ Ο Ρ Η Γ Ε Ν Ι Κ Α τ ρ α γ ω ι δ ο ί ς χ ο ρ η γ ῶ ν ἐ ν ί κ α .

“Mnesilochos son of Mnesiphilos won the victory as choregos for the tragic chorus.”

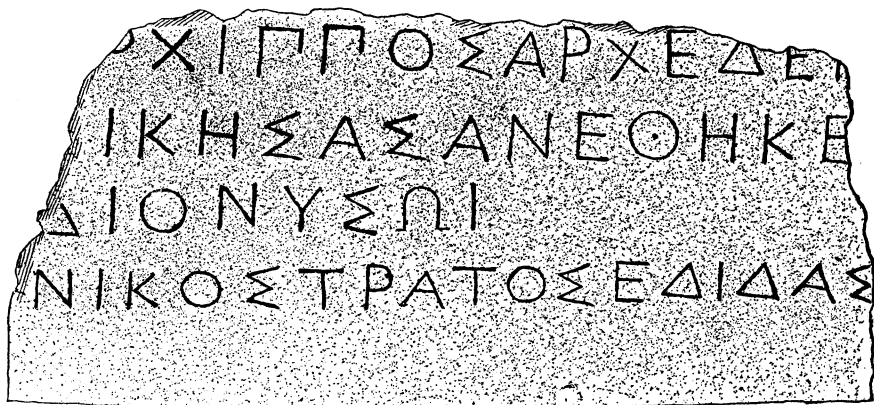
##### No. 6.

Marble base found in the church wall: height, 0.53 m.; width, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.225. The front is finished perfectly smooth except

<sup>23</sup> So also MÜLLER, *Lehrbuch der gr. Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 327.

<sup>24</sup> *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 421-3.

about 0.09 m. at the bottom, which has been left rough, as when in position this would be concealed by earth. In the top are three holes for securing the object dedicated, the middle one being 0.065 m.  $\times$  0.05 m., and 0.05 m. deep; the smaller holes at the two sides, 0.045 m. deep. Height of letters, 0.029 m.



[Ἄρ]χιππος Ἀρχεδέ[κτο] | [ν]ικήσας ἀνέθηκε[τῶι] | Διονύσῳ | Νικ-  
κόςτρατος ἐδίδασ[κε].

“Archippos son of Archedektes dedicated [this] to Dionysos. Nikostratos was didaskalos.”

### No. 7.

Marble stele found lying upon a wall of a late period, running in a southeasterly direction from the N. W. corner of the peribolos wall of the precinct. Height, 1.70 m.; width, 0.40 m.; thickness, 0.33 m. A moulding runs around the top, of which the surface is perfectly smooth, and thus affords no evidence of what object was dedicated upon it. Height of letters, 0.02 m. in first three lines, 0.015 in the others.

ΕΡΓΑΣΟΣ ΞΕΦΑΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ	Ἐργασος Φανομάχο
ΦΑΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΟΣ	Φανόμαχος Ἐργάσο
ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΣ ΞΕΡΓΑΣΟΣ	Διόγνητος Ἐργάσο
ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΙΣ ΧΟΡΗΓΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ	τραγωιδοῖς χορηγήσαντες
ΝΙΚΩΝΤΕΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝ	νικῶντες ἀνέθεσαν.

“Ergasos son of Phanomachos, Phanomachos son of Ergasos, Diognetos son of Ergasos, having won the victory as choregoi for the tragic chorus, dedicated [this].”

Now, all these inscriptions show conclusively that, contrary to the view of Haussoullier and Müller, there was actually a contest between the choregoi, and that the victors were accustomed to dedicate some object to commemorate their victory. There appears to be the same distinction as at Athens between official and private dedications; for the first inscription lacks ἀνέθηκε, and the object dedicated was a tripod, as is proved by the cuttings in the top of the slab, while in the two other inscriptions ἀνέθηκε and ἀνέθεσαν are used, and, so far as the evidence goes, the object dedicated was not a tripod. This distinction of official and private dedications may seem uncalled for in a country deme; and we may conjecture that it was simply an imitation of the custom in the city.

These inscriptions tell us only of dramatic choruses, Nos. 5 and 7 referring to tragic choruses, and, if the identification of Nikostratos suggested below be accepted, No. 6 to a comic chorus.<sup>25</sup> The phrase τραγωιδοῖς χορηγῶν is found elsewhere in inscriptions, and we may compare the passage of Demosthenes quoted in Note 21 with Lysias xxiv. 9. We also learn from No. 5, which belongs in the fourth century, but is later than Nos. 6 and 7, that at Ikaria a tragic choregos made in his official capacity a dedication of a tripod. So it seems that a tripod was the prize for the dramatic chorus here, though this was not the case in Athens.<sup>26</sup> In No. 6, it is remarkable that χορηγῶν is not expressed,<sup>27</sup> but the ἐδίδασκε of the last line is sufficient to show that the inscription is choregic. In the first line, Ἄρχεδε is a part of no name to be found in Pape-Benseler<sup>28</sup> or in Fick,<sup>29</sup> but Ἄρχε-δέκτης would be a correctly formed name (after the analogy of Θεοδέκτης, Πολυδέκτης, Fick, p. 110), and the perpendicular stroke after the Ε may well belong to a *kappa*. As there would be room on the stone for only three letters, we must read genitive in *omicron*. This,

<sup>25</sup> It is possible that theatrical and musical performances were so intimately connected at Ikaria that there were no choruses distinctively and solely musical; but it would be rash to assert this merely on the negative evidence of three inscriptions.

<sup>26</sup> [It is hardly probable that the practice in Athens and Ikaria would differ so essentially; and Koehler's explanation of *C. I. A.*, II, 1298 (KAIBEL, *Epigram. Gr.*, 924; LOEWY, *Inscr. Bild.*, 533) seems reasonable enough to justify the assumption that tripods might be dedicated at times, for dramatic victories, in Athens as well as in the country. More than this can hardly be affirmed in the present dearth of positive evidence either way.—A. C. M.]

<sup>27</sup> [*C. I. A.*, II, 1248 and 1283 have the same omission.—A. C. M.]

<sup>28</sup> *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen.*

<sup>29</sup> *Die griechischen Personennamen.*

together with the forms of the other letters, places the inscription in the early part of the fourth century.<sup>30</sup>

Can the Nikostratos of the last line be identified with any person known to us in literature? Among the numerous Athenians of this name connected with the stage, we find a tragic actor who lived about 420 B. C. (Xen., *Sympos.*, 6. 3; Plutarch, *Glor. Athen.*, 6), and the youngest son of Aristophanes, referred to by Athenaios (XIII. 587) as a poet of the middle comedy. The date of the actor is too early to admit of identifying him with the Nikostratos of our inscription. With regard to the son of Aristophanes little is definitely known, and we must resort to comparisons to arrive at an approximation to his date. Aristophanes' death is usually placed at 380 or 376 B. C., but there is nothing to show how long he lived after his last extant work, the second edition of the *Plutus*, which was brought out in 388 B. C., except that he seems to have done a portion at least of the work on two plays which appeared in the name of his son, Araros. Araros first exhibited under his own name in 375 B. C., but must have been active under his father's guidance for some time previous to this. It is reasonable to believe that Nikostratos made his first essays during the last years of his father's life, and a rural deme would afford a young poet an excellent field for the bringing out of his youthful productions, before he had acquired reputation enough to secure admission to the great contests in the city. So it seems plausible, and even probable, that the Nikostratos of our inscription was the son of Aristophanes.

In No. 6, the dedicators are Ergasos and his two sons, one of whom is named after his grandfather Phanomachos. With this we should compare the inscription quoted above (Note 9) belonging to about the same date, and in which the dedication is also by a father and his two sons. Koehler, in publishing this inscription (*Mith.*, 1878, p. 229), does not express an opinion as to how three persons can be named as victorious choregoi, but perhaps holds the same opinion as Reisch (*De Musicis*, p. 46), who believes that the inscription does not refer to a single victory, but was dedicated in commemoration of several different victories.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The form of the *omega* with its side lines nearly parallel is precisely that found in Ionic inscriptions of the middle of the fifth century and later, but this is, I think, a coincidence rather than a survival. However, this form is characteristic of the early part of the fourth century. The sporadic examples of *omega* in Attic inscriptions of the fifth cent. already show a tendency to become rounder, though the legs are very flaring, even throughout most of the fourth century.

<sup>31</sup> [*Cf.* LYSIAS, XIX. 42: 'Αριστοφάνης τοίνυν γῆν μὲν καὶ οἰκίαν ἐκτήσατο πλέον ἢ πέντε ταλάντων, κατεχορήγησε δὲ ἐπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πεντακισχιλίας δραχμῶν.—A. C. M.]

But a more plausible explanation, in my opinion, is that the three persons from one family joined in the expense of furnishing a chorus, and so in a private dedication called themselves victors in common although one of their number must have been the official choregos, and his name alone would appear on a monument of the official class. Ergasos is a name found twice in an Eleusinian inscription of 329/8 B. C., and is probably the short form of Ἐργασίων, the name of a countryman mentioned by Aristophanes (*Vesp.*, 1201). The inscription belongs to the early decades of the fourth century.

A cut of the tripod-base of inscription No. 5 is given (*Figure 3*) inasmuch as bases for choregic tripods which show clearly the holes for setting in the tripod are not common, and as this base presents a few variations from those known already. Of the tripods set up by victorious choregoi at Athens no fragment of any value is known, and, to form an idea of the shape of such tripods, we are dependent on the innumerable instances in vase-paintings and reliefs, on the fragments of bronze tripods found in other parts of Greece, and on the bases for tripods which are known. In vase-paintings and reliefs, the tripod is usually represented without any central support, though there are instances in which this feature appears. The legs are commonly represented as plain upright pieces ending in animals' feet. The fragments of the large tripods discovered at Olympia show no trace of a central support, and the legs are simple uprights, not ending in animals' feet. The miniature tripods, however, which have been found there, and must serve as the standard for completing the fragments of the large ones, have, in some instances, a small central support of intertwining wires. The diameter of the bowl is about equal to the height of the legs; but all these Olympian examples belong to a very early period, and we know, from the representations on vases and reliefs, that the ratio of proportion was ordinarily nothing like this; the diameter of the bowls so represented would be less than half the height of the legs.

Of bases of actual tripods, two are represented in cuts by Fabricius.<sup>32</sup> One of these is *in situ* on the Akropolis behind the Propylaia, near the fragment of wall belonging to the old Propylaia, and dates at least from the beginning of the fifth century B. C. The three holes for the feet of the tripod are perfectly round, but cut deeper near

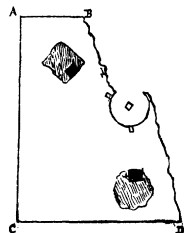


FIG. 3.—Tripod-base found at Ikaria, on which is Inscription No. 5.

<sup>32</sup> *Das plattische Weihgeschenk*, in *Jahrbuch d. deutsch. archäol. Instituts*, 1886, p. 187.

the edge, leaving a kind of knob in the middle. Between the three holes, a circular area is left rough, showing that a cylindrical central support was here present. The second base given by Fabricius has also a circular space in the middle left rough, but the cuttings for the legs are in this example not round but L shaped. The tripod on the Lysikrates monument also had a central support, as is shown by the deep central hole in the top of the anthemion.<sup>33</sup> The famous serpent-column in the Atmeidan at Constantinople was the central support between the three legs of the Plataean tripod, as is clearly shown by Fabricius in the article referred to above. But the most interesting base for comparison

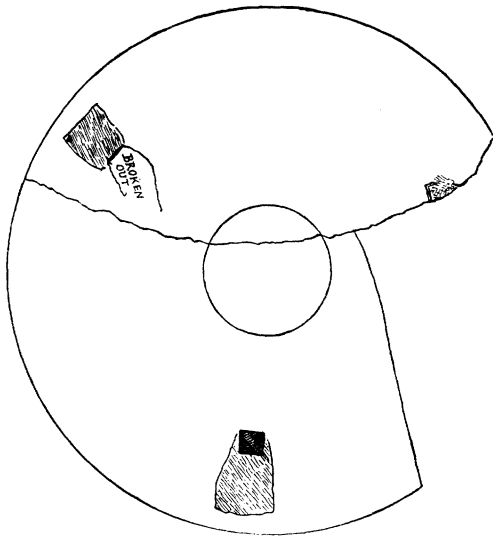


FIG. 4.—Tripod base found near the Ilissos.

with our own is a circular slab<sup>34</sup> found in 1878 near the bank of the Ilissos; and a cut of it is here given (*Figure 4*). In the same place as the slab, were found three cylindrical bases with choregic inscriptions<sup>35</sup> of the first half of the fourth century; and this slab must have formed the cap of a similar base, it being too large to belong to any of those actually found. In this slab the central circle is not merely a place left rough, but an actual depression 0.02 m. deep.

For the support of the legs there are holes, about 0.05 m. square, cut to the depth of 0.07 m.; and an irregularly shaped area extending from these holes nearly to the outer circumference of the slab slightly cut away (greatest depth, 0.015). This irregular cutting is held by Koumanoudes to indicate that the legs of the tripod ended in the feet of animals. In the base found at Ikaria, precisely the same arrangement appears for the support of the legs. There are square holes cut to the

<sup>33</sup> STUART and REVETT, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. I, chap. IV, pl. 9.

<sup>34</sup> KOUΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ, *Ἀθήναιον*, I, p. 170.

<sup>35</sup> *Ἀθήναιον*, I, p. 169 = DITT., 411, 412, 413.



depth of 0.055 m., and, inclosing these, irregular areas cut out to a slight depth; so that the tripod-legs must here, too, have ended in feet. The central hollow is 0.05 m. deep, and radiating from it are three narrow cuttings of the same depth. Exactly in the middle is a small square hole running through the whole thickness of the slab, and apparently intended for the passage of a rod to secure the central member more firmly. The inscription is on the side *CD* (*Figure 3*), close to the upper edge.

*Athens,*  
December 12, 1888.

CARL D. BUCK,  
*Member of the American School  
of Classical Studies at Athens.*